

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0334

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3

REF: (A) USNATO 3560 (B) STATE 149343

1. IN THE TEMPORARY ABSENCE OF AMB RESOR, WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING TENTATIVE COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS TO MAKE ON THE IS REDRAFT (REF A) OF PARAS 1-3 OF THE DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE ON OPTION 3 PUT FORWARD BY THE US (REF B).

2. IT SEEMS TO US THAT INCLUSION OF THE MATERIAL CONTAINED IN THE FIRST HALF OF PARA 1 OF THE IS TEXT WOULD BE UNNECESSARY AND CONFUSING. IT IS UNNECESSARY BECAUSE IT IS,
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IN EFFECT, MERELY A HISTORICAL NOTE WHICH DESCRIBES MAJOR ELEMENTS

OF THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS. EVEN AS A HISTORICAL NOTE IT IS INACCURATE, FOR EXAMPLE IN THAT IT CONTAINS THE PHRASE "APPROPRIATELY DEFINED IN PHASE I" -- A PHRASE WHICH IS NOT CONTAINED IN THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS AND WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN USED IN DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST. THE MATERIAL WOULD BE CONFUSING IF USED WITH THE EAST BECAUSE IN FACT THE ALLIES WOULD BE MODIFYING THEIR EARLIER PROPOSALS IN CERTAIN IMPORTANT RESPECTS:

A) THE ALLIES WOULD NO LONGER BE ASKING THE EAST TO AGREE TO A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ONLY; B) IF THE US POSITION ON OPTION 3 IS ACCEPTED BY THE ALLIES, THE ALLIES WOULD NOT BE ASKING THE EAST TO SET THE COMMON CEILING IN PHASE I AT ANY SPECIFIC FIGURE, AND CERTAINLY NOT AT A FIGURE OF APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN; C) THE WEST WOULD NOT BE ASKING THE EAST IN SO MANY WORDS TO AGREE TO THE "CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING" IN PHASE I BUT TO A MORE SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT.

3. AS TO PARA 3 OF THE IS DRAFT, WE CONSIDER THAT THE "THREATENING ELEMENTS" RATIONALE SHOULD NOT BE DROPPED. OUR MAJOR NEGOTIATING TASK, ONCE OPTION 3 IS INTRODUCED, WILL BE TO PERSUADE THE EAST TO DROP ITS ACROSS-THE-BOARD APPROACH OF REDUCING ALL FORCE ELEMENTS BY SIMILAR PERCENTAGES ON BOTH SIDES AND ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF A MIXED PACKAGE TRADE OF UNLIKE ELMENTS. FOR THIS, WE BELIEVE THE "THREATENING ELEMENTS" RATIONALE WILL BE VERY USEFUL. FINALLY, WE REGARD THE MATERIAL CONTAINED IN THE LAST SUB-PARAGRAPH (BEGINNING WITH "PLUS") OF PARA 3 OF THE IS DRAFT TO BE HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE IN THAT IT ANTICIPATES ALLIED DECISIONS ABOUT PHASE 2. EVEN IF THE US WERE TO AGREE TO AN INTERNAL ALLIED UNDERSTANDING ALONG THE LINES OF THIS SUB-PARAGRAPH, ITS ACTUAL USE WITH THE EAST WOULD BE TACTICALLY HIGHLY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AT THIS TIME.

4. WE BELIEVE, NEVERTHELESS, THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE SOME MODIFICATIONS IN THE DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE PROPOSED BY THE US (REF B) TO ACCOMMODATE ALLIED WISHES REGARDING THE TWO ISSUES POSED IN PARA 10 OF REF A. ACCORDINGLY, WE SUGGEST BELOW FOR WASHINGTON CONSIDERATION

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SOME POSSIBLE ADDITIONS TO THE US DRAFT (REF B). IN MAKING THESE SUGGESTIONS, WE HAVE BEEN GUIDED BY THE CONSIDERATION OF MAKING ONLY MINIMAL CHANGES IN THE US DRAFT, WHILE TRYING TO MEET ALLIED CONCERNS.

5. TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE OF THE SPECIFICITY OF THE EASTERN COMMITMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING, WE RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON CONSIDER THE SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN

PARA 4 OF MBFR VIENNA 0323. THESE SUGGESTIONS WERE TO:

- A. DELETE "APPROPRIATELY DEFINED" IN NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 1 OF DRAFT GUIDANCE.
- B. INSERT FOLLOWING NEW SENTENCE BEFORE PRESENT LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 1: "IN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT, ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO AGREE IN PHASE II ON WHATEVER FURTHER REDUCTIONS WILL BE NEEDED TO REACH AN EQUAL TOTAL OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR BOTH SIDES."
- C. INSERT "TO THE EAST" AFTER "ILLUSTRATIVELY" IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 1.

6. TO MEET THE SECOND ISSUE -- NAMELY, WHETHER THE WEST SHOULD DEFEND OPTION 3 AGAINST SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPAND IT BY STRESSING THE THREATENING ELEMENTS RATIONALE OR BY STRESSING THE ADD-ON NATURE OF THE PROPOSAL -- WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING TWO ADDITIONS TO THE US DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE:

A. IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 1 OF THE US DRAFT, INSERT AFTER THE WORDS "IN ADDITION TO THE PHASE I WITHDRAWAL OF 29,000 US MILITARY PERSONNEL WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED, THE US WOULD BE PREPARED" THE FOLLOWING PHRASE: "AS A SPECIAL ADD-ON TO THE WESTERN PHASE I REDUCTION CONTRIBUTION." THIS PHRASE IS DRAWN FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST PARA OF THE IS DRAFT.

B. AT THE END OF PARA 3 OF THE US DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE, ADD THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE: "THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MAY, AS APPROPRIATE, ALSO NOTE THAT THE ADDITION OF US NUCLEAR ELEMENTS (AS DEFINED IN PARA 1 OF THE GUIDANCE)

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IS INTENDED AS A UNIQUE TRADE, ASSOCIATED ONLY WITH PHASE I." THIS LANGUAGE IS DRAWN FROM PARA 44 OF THE US VIEWS PAPER (STATE 132089).

7. IN EFFECT, THESE SUGGESTED ADDITIONS WOULD REPRESENT A COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OF DEFENDING OPTION 3 AGAINST EASTERN EFFORTS TO EXPAND IT BY INCORPORATING BOTH THE THREATENING ELEMENTS RATIONALE AND THE UNIQUENESS OF THE OPTION 3 OFFER. RESOR

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